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614 553 [773] *The ancestral family may, therefore, be defined as those whose distinct names are embodied in the same origin myth.*

What is the stability of this group?

In consequence of the large number of names theoretically embodied in every myth, and of the necessity for validating the bestowal of any one of these by means of presents, it follows that there is always a large number of dormant names. The Bella Coola describe these as being, "In the burial ground." They are, in fact, dead. Any one of these may be resurrected by any member of the ancestral family. If a woman marries into a foreign tribe her relatives occasionally give her husband, outright, an ancestral name. In such a case that name is permanently alienated from the family to which it formerly belonged; this should happen only when the group is reduced to a few individuals, all of whom agree to the transaction. [583] But more often a woman takes as a wedding gift to her husband a name which it is understood cannot be transmitted to one of his relatives unless he has children. On the death of the childless husband, this designation reverts to his widow's ancestral family. If there are children, they cement the bond of friendship between the two families. The brother of a woman so married also bestows names on her children, as further mark of their incorporation into her ancestral family. [583] It is customary and proper, however, for the ancestral family into which a woman is married and bears children to reciprocate the compliment a few generations later, and by the marriage of one of their women to restore such names to the ancestral family to which they originally belonged. According to the Bella Coola, this practice of "return-marriage" has been the rule since the first exogamic marriages of the first people, with the result that names usually return to the patrilineal descendants of the first people to use them.

611 614 If a woman marries outside her ancestral family, her children will belong to at least two distinct ancestral groups. It is difficult to say how long an individual remembers the dif-

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Although guests from different tribes are sometimes invited to other ceremonials, it is at potlatches that they are essential. Since the validity of such transactions as marriages, divorces, or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a rite depends on the number of witnesses, a man is always eager to carry out any public performance at a potlatch when he is sure of the attention of foreigners, and the consequent wider diffusion of knowledge of what he has done. The man who has invited guests is usually willing to allow others to perform at his potlatch, since it increases the complexity and importance of the affair. It follows that no two potlatches are alike; one will contain features entirely lacking in another. Moreover, the wealth of the donor determines how many rites he himself will cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the potlatch is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness rites in connection with an ancestral myth, especially the return of a recently deceased relative of the donor to visit the living.

At any important potlatch the following rites are carried out, and in the account of the ritual it will be assumed that these alone are taking place. If the reader bears this summary in mind, he is less likely to be confused by the complication of rites.

(1) The return of a dead ancestor to visit the living.

(2) The initiation of young men or women into the *ɬɑɑɬ* society. This includes the validation of a *ɬɑɑɬ* name for each, and a period of seclusion in the back-room. The initiates may either be relatives of the donor of the potlatch, or young persons whose relatives are taking the opportunity to carry out the rite in the presence of foreigners. Some of the initiates may already be members of the society, undergoing a further period of seclusion in order to increase their status by a further distribution of presents.

(3) The payment by the wife of the donor and her family of goods to "rebuy" her from her husband. This is a legal fiction, though necessary to maintain the status of the children.

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Coola say that the return of the dead "washes away grief," and unquestionably it has a comforting effect on the mind of the donor of the potlatch.

(3) Wealth. Unless a man has the necessary goods with which to make presents he cannot invite guests, no matter how important may be his ancestral myths and names. Some of this wealth he may be able to amass by his own labours, but unless he is assisted by his wife's family it is virtually impossible for him to succeed. The Bella Coola believe that a man cannot become a chief except through large payments made by a woman's family when they "rebuy" her from her husband. In other words, no man can succeed without the support of his wife. In choosing a mate a man is guided almost entirely by the ability of her family to give him financial support. In some cases an elderly couple assist a married son to give a potlatch; this custom, though considered quite proper, is not common.

(4) Supernatural assistance. To the Bella Coola this is quite as important as the preceding. One man may work very hard but his efforts are never crowned with success, whereas another man will prosper in every venture. This is due to the supernatural attributes given by the supreme god to the latter. By prayer, ceremonial chastity, and other means, a man may increase the powers granted to him, but if these are entirely lacking, he can never hope to rise to the position of chief.

PRELIMINARIES

In describing the potlatch, it will be convenient to refer to the donor as X, and assume him to be a middle-aged member of the *nusaḵ* society, whose seat and name, though duly ratified, lack importance through his previous failure to give large presents.

For a number of years X has prospered. He has amassed quantities of skins, blankets, tools, copper ornaments, clothing, canoes, baskets, dentalium shell, slaves, and other valuables.

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Pre-
* 556 sently the guests assemble, those who are *xxxx* wearing on
[575] their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership
[287] in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
[292] the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
[554] slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The
heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant
exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the af-
[203] fair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to
his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In
some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but
as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is
sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to under-
take the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial
gain.

264 A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute
* 556 the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called
[883] upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no
standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with
whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests;
[578] otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in
this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first
course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food
in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a
fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more
he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who
gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its
● 589 reward.

* 556 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a
[537] fluent friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech,
425 extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general
[424] outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that
[532] X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may
be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with
the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with
certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly
bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral
name.

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bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name. The speaker always recounts the whole myth before announcing which portion of it is transmitted to X as a prerogative. It is understood that this transference will be duly validated by presents to X when he gives his potlatch. Such are termed *dzâmâxmtxum* and signify the repurchase of a wife from her husband. Though this is known to be a fiction it has extreme social importance. Unless *dzâmâxmtxum* is paid there is an ineradicable blot upon the children; in fact, it is one of the essentials of a legal marriage. All prerogatives thus transferred on *xläxtxum* become the property of X and will in time pass to his children, unless retalled to the wife's family by further repurchase (*dzâmâxmtxum*) money or goods. In this fashion elements of family myths become scattered, and one of the considerations in choosing a wife is to select a woman able to bring back some missing part of the husband's myth.

The usual present is an ancestral name, which X henceforth uses as potlatches as his most distinguished title, though the myth in which it is incorporated does not belong to him. As long as the name remains in X's family those who originally owned it are unable to make use of it. Such a name is said to be "dragged across" by the wife to her husband, the immense weight or importance of the designation being compared with the dragging of a heavy log. Occasionally, the father of a married woman, animated by the kindliest feelings towards his son-in-law, may give him outright a myth with all the names embodied therein. This can happen only where there are no other survivors of the family. In such a case when the myth is recounted it must always be mentioned how it has been obtained. The number and type of the prerogatives transferred depend upon the sentiments with which his wife's family regard X. If, in addition to being a worthy man, he is member of their ancestral family, or of one with which his wife's has frequently intermarried, so that in course of generations prerogatives have intermingled, there is less objection to giving him such rights than if he were an unrelated individual.

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with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *sisaok* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from these, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove them to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a *sisaok siki*[9] who is skilled in dealing with *Mulakila*,[10] also called *Sixsixqwtnam*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *sisaok* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *siki* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance.

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

[9]The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *sisaok* ritual was newly imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, *Puilus*, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them as dower certain *sisaok* prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the potlatch, which accounts for the contradictory accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the prerogative of *siki* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Siki* means "the one who cures," and the name is given to the man whose prerogative it is to tend the *kusiut* initiates in whom supernatural powers are located. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *sisaok* matters, known as a *kai-alakila*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to these, so favoured, the term *siki*, as they do for the *kusiut* "curer," though the Bella Bella name, *kai-alakila*, is used with equal frequency. The present *siki* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *sisaok*. In this account of a potlatch it is assumed that a *siki* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases any senior *sisaok* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *sisaok* was regarded as capable of doing so.

[10]Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain *Smaoas* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time.

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533 earliest ancestors, and the text is commonly grandiloquently
*556 phrased.[19] Frequently the singers alter the words slightly to
suit the occasion, and sometimes compose entirely new words
[171] for an old tune. As they sing, they are aided by some of X's
friends who rise and stand between the fire and the front door.
[532] They occasionally wear forehead masks carved with his crest
to add dignity to the rite.

203 After the song the chiefs continue their meal, and there is
much practical joking with the heralds.

522 "Don't you want some food?" X calls to one of them.
*556 Without waiting for an answer he throws a box containing
the liquid pulp, inclined at such an angle that the mess is spat-
tered over the recipient. Occasionally, a herald will succeed
in catching a box without spilling the contents, but usually he
is smeared from head to foot, while the spectators shriek with
laughter. It is one of the functions of a herald to be a laughing
stock for the visitors.

*556 During the afternoon X's wife and the members of her
●583 family deliver to him the goods which they have amassed to
"re-buy" her from her husband. These are called "washing
material," as if they supplied X with wash-basin and toilet
necessities. The speaker orates how the wife has lived up to
her obligation in making this presentation, and how it will
clear the path for her children. These goods will later on be
distributed by X. They can be used for:

(1) Repayment of potlatch debts, or

(2) Making potlatch investments, or

(3) Validating names, either *nsaak* or ancestral, for the children of his relatives.

It would be most disgraceful should any of the goods be applied to validating *nsaak* names for any of X's own children, because they have come from his wife's people and react to the advantage of her children in any case. These goods are

[19] Though not to the same extent as among the Kwakiutl where the words may describe how the sky is supported on a chief's shoulders, or how he has pushed his head into the land above.

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not returnable by X to his wife's family. A question on this point was regarded as highly amusing. If used for investment-gifts, the presents received in return are given to X, not to his wife's relations.

A speaker, acting on instructions from the brother or other member of X's wife's family, also announces what names, portions of *myth*-prerogatives, or other privileges she is bestowing on her husband. After that the people disperse, although they are free to re-enter the house, where, during the afternoon, arrangements are being made for the elaborate ceremonial which takes place that night.

Towards dusk the guests reassemble and take their places as before. Part of the goods which X proposes to give away has been brought in, and, aided by members of his family, he busies himself recounting and making final plans for its distribution. As the Bella Coola have no system of writing, accurate division of goods at a potlatch causes considerable difficulty and worry to the donor. A slighted guest will feel aggrieved, and the sacred nature of the rite will have been subjected to insult if arrangements are not satisfactory. The first business is the settlement of debts by X to the members of his own village. He may perhaps have borrowed fifty blankets ten years previously from a certain individual whom he now intends to repay, with foreign guests as witnesses to the transaction. X always endeavours to reimburse with as large a premium as possible, because by so doing he displays his nobility of mind to the assemblage; but if he can restore only the amount borrowed, or the same with a small increase, there will be no trouble such as might occur should he fail to return at least the principal. When the debt has been settled with interest the matter is at an end, for there is no compulsion upon the man who receives the additional sum to repay this with interest in his turn. The amount previously lent, and the occasion, are always publicly announced, so that all are made aware of his generosity with regard to interest.

In Kimsquit it was customary at this stage of the proceed-

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plied to provide abundant food for all; it became the ancestor of all the beaver of the upper valley. Owing to their position higher up the Bella Coola, *Taiatwala* and his brothers considered that they were nearer to the sun than any of the people dwelling below, a fact of which they were exceedingly proud. Moreover, having been sent down by him, the sun was their crest.

There were two large boulders in the river near the settlement, which *Aiquattm* had shown *Taiatwala* how to use as supports for a salmon-weir. With the help of his brothers, a hole was drilled in one of the rocks; then they felled a large tree upstream and allowed it to drift down until the butt lodged in the perforated boulder and the head swung across against the other. With this as base, other trunks were woven in upright so that the river was almost spanned and a fine dam constructed. In this they caught so many salmon that *Taiatwala* and his brothers were able to call people from far and near to potlatches and feast them liberally on the fish. In course of time their sister was married to a chief from another town. Henceforth, whenever one of her brothers gave a potlatch, he was able to rebuy his sister on a lavish scale with the teeming salmon. The sun had taught the woman a song for such occasions, which has since been used as a prerogative by her descendants when rebuying themselves from their husbands.

Taiatwala made a long voyage of exploration during which he reached the Skeena River. He made friends with the inhabitants of the town, *Kyarwan*, who gave him the name, *Xwulben*,[10] meaning *whale* in their language. Continuing his journey, he ultimately circled the earth before returning home. He obtained several other designations, including *Ailzamka* from the Kwatna people.[11]

Years after the settlement of *Snaik'ai*, the drilled stone supporting the salmon-weir broke and the ruins were swept away downstream. The people cut their hair and blackened their faces in mourning, then moved to *Stuie* where a number of their daughters had married chiefs.

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Nuitsq*[12]

It is common to add details from a story to a family myth in order to increase its length and importance. Almost cer-

[10] It appears that *Xwulben* is an attempt to pronounce the English, *whale-boat*, an interesting example of the way in which modern words have been incorporated into ancient myths and been clothed with the glamour of antiquity.

[11] Both are still used by members of the ancestral family descended from *Taiatwala*.

[12] Related by Mrs. Webber, who had learnt it from her late father, *Snaxhaitz*, a chief of *Stuie*, whose hamlet name was *Snaxlamp*.

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air. As they did so the feathers began to move, gradually rising in the air until some passed through the roof. It was as if a miniature whirlwind of gentle power were agitating them. As the three continued to use the sticks, the corpse itself began to move, finally disintegrating into the down and passing through the roof. As it did so the three said:

"Go back whence we came. *Ye*.....,"

Since that time the people of *Owikē* have disposed of their dead in this manner.

The first *Ā'kalā'ic* brought with him from above not only the right to a *nanē* dance, but also a Cannibal *hamat* dance (II, p. 71) with the Bella Bella name *Łoḵnaz*. He had, moreover, the rare privilege of performing *hamat* and *nanē* rites on alternate nights.

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This myth is important since it embodies an account of the disappearance of a corpse through a roof, a method of removal of the dead now practised by the Bella Coola in the case of chiefs. This means is recognized by the Bella Coola to have been a recent introduction from either Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet to *Tā'ōs*, and thence to Bella Coola.

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Judging from this account, it would appear that such a method of removal of a corpse must be considered as originally a prerogative embodied in a myth, although it has ceased to be regarded as such in Bella Coola.

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The man from whom this tradition was obtained said it was only one of the type current in Bella Coola, though such are common in Bella Bella. It was obtained by the marriage of one of his ancestors to a woman of *Owikē*, and was used as theme for a mourning-ceremony at the death of his sister.

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AN EARLY BELLA BELLA MYTH TRANSMITTED BY MARRIAGE TO BELLA COOLA[a]

In the beginning of time, when the population of the earth consisted only of the few people who had come down from above, *Yaiktēmat* went to the Bella Bella town, *Ḵnoqyoł*, where, as was common at that period, people had no houses but were sheltered under huge trees which *Ā'kalā'ic* had placed there for that purpose. *Yaiktēmat* was in the form of a man at the time and fell in love with a girl of the village. Her father, *Nā'aī*, agreed to the match and the two were married. The husband never slept with his wife; when he wished children, he willed that they

[a] Related by Joshua Moody.

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of the term is very different from its use among the northern tribes. 582 171

Having eliminated those girls who are too closely related, or who are unsuited on account of the poverty of their parents, the father and mother can concentrate on others of about the same age as their son. The most desirable is a member of the ancestral family of one of the parents. This obviates the dangers and difficulties of marriage with a stranger, and any children will be born into the close-knit circle of related ancestors stretching back to the beginning of time. They consider that such a child is fortunate, as if he were held close in the spiritual embrace of his powerful forefathers of antiquity. Each ancestral family is jealously proud of its ancient traditions and prerogatives, and as some of these are transmitted at marriage, it follows that a mating within its ranks is desirable from a business standpoint. Moreover, it is recognized that the husband obtains more presents than the wife at the wedding and that her relatives are more likely to be generous when their son-in-law is one to whom they are related. Indeed, some ancestral families are so "stingy," (to use the Bella Coola expression), that for generations they have habitually married endogamously. In such cases it is not unknown for the children of first cousins to mate, though this is usually regarded as not quite proper. The most common marriages are between the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of first cousins, or between the child and grandchild of a first cousin when of suitable age. According to mythology, unions have sometimes taken place between brother and sister in order to preserve the traditions within the family, and it appears highly probable that marriages have occasionally occurred between first cousins, although no specific instances of this could be learnt. As long as the laws against incest are obeyed, any girl of appropriate age who is addressed as *numao* (I, p. 153) is a fit partner. Since ancestral families have usually become localized in certain villages, there is a strong leaning to local endogamy, though this is not compulsory. The restrictions

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582 on marriage are of a bilateral nature, and the preferences are equally bilateral, with a tendency to become patrilineal, in accordance with the patrilineal tendency of the ancestral family as already described.

581 Although these considerations greatly restrict the selection of a suitable daughter-in-law, a number of choices always remain. The parents of the prospective bridegroom consider the material advantages of each of these. Since the ability of a man to give potlatches depends largely on the wealth contributed by his wife's immediate family, wise parents eliminate a girl whose brothers are lazy. Moreover, they know that their son's children will receive prerogatives from their maternal grandparents, hence it is desirable to choose those who have prized *kusiut* dances, or other valuable rights. Ancestral names are not so important, because these are the potential property of all members of the ancestral family. A great consideration is the industriousness of the girl herself, though this is of less moment than the working ability of her father and brothers. Marriage was discussed with a very old man who had had four wives. After describing the idiosyncrasies of the four, he continued:

"My last wife was by far the best. Her family gave me many presents."

583 [581] Frequently the choice of a wife is simplified by an institution which may be termed "return marriage." If, for example, a few generations ago a woman was married into another ancestral family, or into a distant branch of her own, it was considered proper for a man of her family to receive as wife a woman of the family into which she had married. During the previous wedding rites the woman's family bestowed much wealth and valuable prerogatives; it is proper that the latter should be restored to the ancestral family of their owners. A return marriage also binds two families together, with consequent strength to the children. A few examples will make the matter clear.

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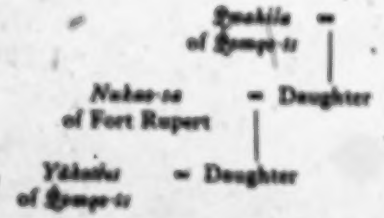
In the beginning of time it is believed that a son of *Smaoan* married the daughter of a Kitlobe chief (I, p. 338). As dower she brought her husband several Kitlobe names, which were transmitted in time to her children and which remained in *Smaoan*'s home, Kimsquit, for many generations. The Bella Coola believe that it was remembered for hundreds of years that these designations did not belong there. Whenever one was conferred, the myth was recounted to tell how it first came to Kimsquit; whereas in Kitlobe when the myth from which the names were taken was related, it was always added that those in question could not be used since they were now in Kimsquit. About one hundred and fifty years ago, *Aixpuil*, a Kimsquit woman, was married to a Kitlobe man to repay this debt, and cement friendship between the two tribes. She took as dower the names long ago brought from Kitlobe. Similarly, if any name or other prerogative of an ancestral myth has been alienated from the ancestral family to which it belongs, a father searches for a woman who will be able to restore it to his son as a marriage gift. The word used for searching is "hunt," the term applied to seeking fur-bearing animals.

The accompanying pedigree illustrates a return marriage. *Ẍuakila*'s daughter was married to a Fort Rupert man and took with her as dower several Bella Coola names and other prerogatives. The loss of these was remembered and they were brought back by the marriage of *Yâkaulu*, a member of *Ẍuakila*'s ancestral family, with a daughter of the woman who had gone to Fort Rupert. Usually several generations elapse before a return marriage is made. This incident was perfectly well known to the son of *Yâkaulu*.



If parents who are seeking a wife for their son have also a daughter approaching marriageable age, they may try to avoid a later return marriage by arranging that their daughter shall be married to a brother, or other near relative, of their son's wife. Exchange marriage was formerly more common than [178]

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583 at present, though even now it is considered highly desirable.
[178] The sentiment is that already described: the more closely the parents are bound together by ties of common ancestry, the greater will be their children's ceremonial strength. Further, reciprocal alliances of this type obviate all danger of feuds, since return marriages are not required.

582 178 648 In recent years it has become fashionable, or socially "smart," with some Bella Coola families to seek wives from unrelated ancestral families, and even from other tribes. It is said that this practice was initiated by *Patlas*, an important chief who died between 1870 and 1880. He sought foreign marriages on account of the prerogatives which were brought as dowers by his wives, and considered that such rights, transmissable to his children, more than compensated for the lack of strength provided by related ancestors. Many have followed his example, with the result that some ancestral families have entirely abandoned the endogamic tendency. Boas (p. 124) has made the same observation. Although this exogamic
[581] principle is directly contrary to that which has already been described, yet it should be noted that each has the same explanation—the search for a wife able to bring most to her as yet unborn children.

584 581 Should the parents consider a foreign woman as wife for their son, then her worth is discussed from every angle. One woman may have the right to good hunting grounds, the family of another may have some valuable *nusel* prerogatives, a third some *kusiut* rites. Anxious thought is put on the relative values of these. One man had heard of the French system of *dot*, and emphasised strongly how far superior to, and more
[178] sensible it was than the Canadian practice. In recent years the younger Bella Coola have been arranging their own marriages, and the older men lament bitterly that they are influenced only by the beauty and working ability of the girl, not by her real worth, the prerogatives which she can bring to her children.

Although parents consider chiefly the ancestry of their

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ceived information of the proposed marriage, but they always plead ignorance, and deliberate for several days. Y's parents and other relatives take part in the discussion, and Y herself may likewise be taken into confidence. Although a daughter has, theoretically, little choice, in practice she exercises a great deal of influence. Her mother and father weigh the suitor's eligibility not only with regard to wealth and ancestral possessions, but consider his character. An immoral young man is not desirable, though neither is one who is impotent.

If Y's relatives agree to the proposal, some one of them informs the intermediary, or X's father, and the young people are considered to be engaged. The fact is supposed to be kept secret for several days, although the news usually becomes known sooner. X's relatives as soon as possible take a number of presents to Y's family. These are given in private, and are termed "secret gifts"; they are said to give strength to the future children. Since no witnesses are present it follows that no social prestige accrues from the transaction. The relatives included in the "family" of either X or Y are not always the same; uncles, aunts, grandparents, may or may not take part in the giving and receiving of presents, the parents alone always do so. Sometimes distant relatives take a leading part in the arrangements, either in hope of receiving valuable gifts, or of obtaining social influence by lavish giving. If X's relatives have reason to believe that Y's family will accept their proposal, several of them may go in company and actually carry the "secret gifts" to Y's house at the time of making the first proposal. Should this be rejected, they merely carry away their goods, and as the affair has been private, no one's vanity is hurt.

The acceptance of "secret gifts" binds the engagement of X and Y, but a few days elapse before this is made public. If X's family is wealthy, his father, or other near relative, presently invites all the inhabitants of the village to his house. The singers, in their usual stations behind the fire, strike up the tune of some *hamat* and the owner of the song, thus warned,

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dances in time to it. Using their own discretion, the musicians proceed to beat out the time for *kusiut* after *kusiut*, and each performs. In like fashion they then beat out the tune of one *nusok* after another, and each member of that society gives his dance. Since none of the supernatural beings is present, the affair is non-sacred. The singers consult with the host as to the number of songs to be used. When they stop at last, X's father, aided by his younger relatives, gives valuable presents of food. No mention of the coming marriage is made, but the rite gives the donor an opportunity of displaying his generosity as a chief and indirectly increases the importance of the wedding because the value of the food will later be remembered in connection with it.

[589]

If X's father is very wealthy, he may recall the people for several nights, always providing the same type of entertainment, and always giving food. He uses his own judgment as to the number of such entertainments, but at that which he decides shall be the last, he announces:

"Tomorrow we shall go to Y's father's house."

If X's father does not wish to give away such large quantities of food he may omit the dancing in his own house and make this announcement at a potlatch, a *kusiut* dance,[5] or any other public gathering. But the more elaborate the ceremonial, the greater is the importance of the marriage in the eyes of the Bella Coola, which in turn increases the strength of the children who may result from it.

[858]

583 584

On the morning after this declaration, X's father calls to his house those whom he wishes to be witnesses of the alliance that has been planned. These include as many of his relatives and those of his wife as he desires, and often intimate friends. These individuals comprise the group interested, on behalf of X, in the marriage; they provide the goods which are given for him, and receive the presents from the corresponding group of Y's relatives. Anyone having the necessary financial ability

[5] This is probably a recent innovation.

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583 584 is glad of this opportunity to demonstrate it, but a poor man can decline without loss of social esteem.

Carrying presents, the specific value of which is immaterial, they set out for Y's house. Her father, accompanied by his relatives, has been warned and is waiting at the door. A herald, or other eloquent speaker, addresses them on behalf of X's father. He says in effect:

"We do not come secretly or wrongfully to steal something from you. We come with the loftiest intentions. Great is our affection for your child. What we are about to do has long been a practice of our two families [if the two families have intermarried in past generations]; let us do according to our wishes. I am the opening."[1]

Then X's father throws on the ground several stones, representing slaves who will later be given to Y's relatives. These are said to "open the door," that is, to make clear the entrance of X and his relatives into Y's house. There is the added significance that they start upon a clear road the children whom it is hoped will result from the marriage. This thought finds expression in many rites both during engagement and at the wedding ceremony itself. After throwing the stones, X's father gives gifts to Y, to her father, her mother, and to her other relatives assembled. These are of such great value that X's father sometimes almost impoverishes himself, but he knows that though these will never actually be returned, Y's family will be proud to uphold their dignity, and the importance of Y, by equally lavish givings.

Y's father now invites his guests to enter his house, and ushers them to their duly validated seats where the food that has been prepared is served with all solemnity in the usual food-boxes. Then Y's family give presents to X's family, that is to all who have come to share in the marriage. These goods are known as "working clothes"; they are usually of less value

[1] Opening, *skelmaulut*. This term is applied to the whole ceremony at Y's house and, like it, has a double significance, as opening the way for the marriage, and clearing the path for the future children.

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than the presents just given by X's relatives, though occasionally they may exceed them. Y's father, or a herald, or an eloquent friend on his behalf, speaks to the following effect: 583 584

"Be bold. Henceforth you will have to work a very long time for us. We will let you know when we need your services."

The significance of this speech lies in the fact that X, and to a certain extent his relatives, are expected to perform almost menial tasks for Y's father during the period of engagement, which has now been duly ratified. X's father and his followers now leave Y's house. It is immaterial whether or not X and Y themselves have been present. It is important that this formal acknowledgment of the engagement should take place during the day; otherwise any children resulting from the marriage could be shamed by having it said to them: "Your parents were not married in the open light of day." [858]

For a varying length of time X now acts almost as a servant to Y's father. He does not live with her family, but he cuts wood, draws water, and performs other menial tasks. Whenever a member of X's family gives a ceremony, he takes care to give lavish presents to Y's relatives. If it is impossible to hold a sacred rite, X's father is at least expected to invite Y's family to a ceremonial feast, and also to share with them any game that he may kill. Meanwhile, X and Y are not subject to any restrictions as to seeing each other. In theory if they should cohabit it would "spoil" the engagement, but in most cases when this occurs, as it often does, the matter is simply hushed up. [836]

Children whose parents were long engaged are said to be "heavy"; their entry into life having been prepared with careful thought and due ceremony, so that their limbs are clear to travel with success to the position of chief. When such a child is born, the relatives are eager to call their fellow-villagers to confer a name soon after birth, and the infant starts life with this advantage. There is no specific length of time for engagements; if X and Y are the children of influential chiefs, the 584 [858] [553]

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584 preliminary agreement may have been made while they were only seven or eight years old, though marriage seldom occurs before the age of seventeen or eighteen. More often the agreement is made when X and Y have passed the age of puberty, and they wait for about two years before marrying.

583 425 553 [584] Throughout this period, X's relatives are expected to give at least one feast at which Y's relatives are the guests of honour, and always receive presents. At one of these rites X's father, with the concurrence of his relatives, may mark his approval of the coming event by bestowing on Y's father, or one of her other relations, an ancestral name from his family myth. This does not become the absolute property of Y's family, since the myth in which it is embodied does not belong to them, unless, of course, they are members of the same ancestral family. It is fitting that a name of this kind be bestowed by the recipient on one of Y's children, or returned to X's family a few generations later by a return marriage. If this is not done, in course of time the designation is apt to be regarded by Y's family as their own. If there are no children, Y's relatives should give back the name to X's [627] family, but there are many instances of feuds caused by failure to do so. According to mythology, prerogatives may some- [773] times be given outright, without thought of their use by the resultant children, or of their being restored by return marriages. It is claimed that the people of the Kimsquit River [648] have, through such a present, the inalienable title to use a certain spot in the Kitlobe River for their olachen nets, and likewise the Kitlobe people have an irrevocable right to the Kimsquit name *Stâlhmy*. These two prerogatives were transferred at the beginning of time. At present, anyone bestowing outright his family prerogatives would be considered weak- [578] minded and the other members of the ancestral family would strenuously object. Considerations of this sort make it desirable to seek a wife within the ranks of the ancestral family.

During the period of engagement, Y's family may present a name, or names, to X's father, with the same conditions as those just described.

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those just described. The giving of these at this time is not obligatory, nor does it affect the validity of the coming marriage. It is merely a mark of friendly feeling between the two groups of relatives, and, by adding to the importance of the event, increases the potential strength of the unborn children. 583

If either X or Y should die during the period of engagement, the presents, or their equivalent, must be returned to the donors. No formal methods are employed to ensure this; but the force of public opinion suffices to compel a man to do that which is proper; in fact, he is anxious to do so. If Y should die, an effort is made to replace her with a sister, cousin, or other near relative, so that the friendly relations entered upon by the two families may not be lost. The gifts mutually given by the two families may be returned and re-donated or the substitute simply takes Y's place without further arrangement. Sometimes, in spite of the wishes of their parents and the elaborate rites carried out, either X or Y breaks the engagement by going to live with somebody else. It is then a mark of pride for the family of the offender to return the gifts they have received, and almost equally a mark of honour for the aggrieved party to give back what has been bestowed upon them, in order to demonstrate how little value they place on the possession of goods. 584 [583] [626] [154] [583]

Though a lengthy engagement is desirable, it may be curtailed. If, for example, one of X's relatives should die before the usual period has elapsed, Y's father may suggest an immediate wedding. He knows that X's family will have heavy expenses in connection with the burial and mourning rites, hence it is courteous to offer a quick marriage with the financial advantages accruing to them at the ceremony. In this case, X either does not work at all for Y's family, or for only a short time. Moreover, if Y reaches marriageable age without her father receiving suitable proposals, he can himself take the initiative by consulting the parents of an eligible young man. If the suggestion is agreeable, the engagement is announced in the manner already described, and the marriage takes place [764]

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584 as soon as possible. Though strictly legal, and commonly practised even long ago, this is not considered a desirable preliminary, since the children lack the strength which would have been theirs if their parents had been long engaged. In recent 178 years the custom of short engagements has become popular, though the older Bella Coola feel resentment, saying that the 584 woman is simply "bought" with goods or money at the actual wedding. The return of such sums in due course does not compensate for the omission of the lengthy period of engagement. A few years ago a powerful chief even "bought" husbands for his grand-daughters. His influence was so great that by bestowing large sums on the families of the youths they accepted the young women as wives. The girls in question were desirable in every way, according to Bella Coola standards, but by marrying without a long engagement and suitable presents the husbands, and their families, failed to live up to the dignity of their ancestry. These are breakings down of the ancient rites, and as such are lamented by the older people.

•583 Sometimes, despite the wishes of their parents, a boy and 584 girl announce their desire to marry by living together. After much storming, the parents usually decide to make the best of a bad business by performing the marriage rites as soon as possible and by lavish expenditure on them to lessen the impediment placed against the future offspring by lack of long engagement of their parents. But such a child can never be [858] called an *ălqim*, which has the significance of something good that has long been sought for, such as a smoothed-grained tree that carpenters like. It will thus be seen that the marriage ceremony must be carried out, irrespective of whether or not it has been preceded by a lengthy period of engagement in which the first proposal was made by the boy's family, by a shorter one in which the girl's family took the initiative, or by no period of engagement whatever. These rites can now be described.

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567 ceremony usually consisted simply of the man and woman
588 living together. In theory, this prevented the children from ever obtaining a name or other prerogative embodied in the ancestral myth of the free-born parent, and an effort was always made to conceal from them the details of the ancestral family's origin myth. But, as already described in the section dealing with slaves, the expenditure of valuable presents served to eradicate, or at least to cover, the blot. If the child succeeded in giving many potlatches, the stain was generally forgotten. On the other hand, if the child of a slave married to a free man was not "washed," he could always be shamed by a reminder of the disgrace of his parents' wedding.

682 In case of murder, the son or other near relative of the
[583] victim sometimes accepts a daughter or other member of the offender's family instead of exacting blood revenge. The bride
[627] is delivered to her husband with valuable goods "to wash away the blood," but these never suffice entirely to remove the disgrace from her or her children. The latter may inherit names and prerogatives from their father, but even if they attain to the position of chiefs, they can always be put to shame by reference to their mother's marriage as an atonement for murder. Of course the influence of a great chief makes it impolitic to refer to his ancestry, and there are a few instances of men having reached such a position of eminence that the blot has been practically forgotten. The wife's family must continue to give presents to the husband for years after marriage, otherwise her lot is unenviable indeed, and her children have the status of the unwashed offspring of a slave and a free-man. In some cases a marriage of this type is entered upon years after a murder, if a son or other descendant wishes to end the anxiety of constantly expecting blood revenge.

REPURCHASE OF THE WIFE

556 Repurchase of a wife is the necessary consequence of every
583 reputable Bella Coola marriage. It is assumed that the pre-

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sents given by X's relatives up to the time of the wedding have exceeded in value those which they have received. Later, whenever, and as often as X gives a potlatch, Y's relatives are expected to rebuy her from her husband. Although this is the expression used by the Bella Coola, it has only a ceremonial significance, since Y remains X's wife.

Whenever X intimates that he is going to give a potlatch, Y and her relatives begin to hoard goods irrespective of whether or not children have been born. Their value is unregulated by custom, although the individuals concerned always try to give as much as they can; usually X does not know exactly how much will be provided until their actual delivery. Moreover, this is the occasion most preferred by the relatives of a wife to present to her husband ancestral names or other prerogatives embodied in origin myths. The exact rights of X with respect to such gifts have already been defined so need not be repeated here. Even if Y has taken an ancient name to her husband when she was married, she may bring him another when repurchased. This is an event of even greater importance to a woman than marriage, so no effort is spared to add to the dignity of the occasion.

On the second night of a potlatch Y's father announces what prerogatives he proposes to grant to X. These may include the right to a certain totem-pole design, the carving of a spoon, a painting for the wall of the house, or any other element embodied in the origin myth. These privileges are displayed by X at the coming potlatch. If, as is usual, Y's father wishes to give his son-in-law an ancestral name, it is announced on this occasion, and is the designation by which X is known during the ceremony. It is always said that such a name is so "heavy," in the sense of "so important" that it must be "dragged across" to her husband by Y. *Kusiut* names are commonly transferred as presents, but without any public bestowal, and one or two instances are known of the similar acquisition of *sisaok* prerogatives and whistles; it was in this way that *Potlas* was able to import *sisaok* ritual from Bella Bella. After announcing the

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556 prerogatives he is transmitting, Y's father usually takes the
583 opportunity of stating that he wishes to hunt on X's hunting-
[425] grounds, or fish in his fishing-grounds. Permission is never refused, though it is only for the period of the potlatch. Since Y's father is to assist X, it is considered fitting to grant him facilities for obtaining pelts and food.

It is on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch that the goods are delivered. They serve six purposes, which can be described separately, although the Bella Coola usually think of them as being too closely associated for division.

(1) They increase the dignity, influence, and prestige of the donors. This theme needs no further elaboration. When X later gives these presents to his foreign guests, he announces the person from whom he has received them and in this way knowledge of the manner in which Y's relatives have upheld the dignity of the marriage is spread far and wide, to their intense gratification.

(2) They help X to rise to a position of influence in the community by the credit which comes to him from their later distribution. Though a man may acquire goods in various ways, the Bella Coola affirm that without contributions from his wife's relatives no man can become a chief.

(3) They validate the transmission of names, or other pre-
[606] rogatives, taken by Y to her husband. Even presents given directly from father-in-law to son-in-law are always said to have been taken by the daughter to her husband.

[554] (4) Indirectly, they increase the prestige of the children, either born at that time or who may appear later. None of the goods used for repurchasing their mother can actually be used for their benefit, but the whole rite gives them strength to succeed in life. A child whose mother has not been repurchased is said to be unable to walk, as if his legs were powerless; he lacks intelligence, and the ability to prosper. From the
[578] petty quarrels of childhood until old age, a person is proud to recall the number of times his mother was rebought, and to thrust this statement in the teeth of those less fortunate.

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(5) They govern Y's status in this world. When women quarrel, as they often do, the most common boast to shame a less wealthy rival is a reminder of the number of times the speaker was repurchased and the value of the goods used. [578]

"I can sit down on fifteen canoes," or "I am carried by five slaves," says the angry woman, mentioning whatever goods were used for her repurchase.

(6) Finally, these goods serve a more definite purpose in obtaining for Y a name, or names, of which the value is directly proportionate to the expenditure, precisely as the importance of a chief's designation depends on the goods used to validate it. [553]

As with men's names, some women's appellations were given by *Ălquntăm* to the first arrivals; others were created on this earth with regard to peculiar events, and still others are names which can be used either by men or women. Theoretically, the dignity of the first type of name is greater than either of the others, but in practice the importance of the owner depends on the number of times she has bought herself from her husband; the principles governing the rank of women are thus the same as those already described for men. The term *yetsalt*, applied to a woman who has many times rebought herself and so reached a position of eminence, is the feminine equivalent to *stăltumx*. The creation of women's names in reference to personal characteristics or incidents connected with their married life is more common than similar creations for men. The ritual of the bestowal of a name on Y, here given, was omitted from the description of the potlatch in order to lessen the complexity of that ceremony. It will be remembered that on the afternoon of the second day of the potlatch Y's relatives appear outside X's house, carrying valuable presents. [554] [562]

The announcer calls out that Y's father has come to give "food" to X and his relatives. By food, presents are meant, which are the return, with interest, of the gifts given by X's relatives on various occasions. The giver is announced, for other relatives than Y's father contribute, and to whom the

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553 556 583 present is made. The recipient may either be X himself or one of his relatives who has conferred a gift on one of Y's family. The goods are taken inside, counted, displayed, and the same announcement made. These presents are given away by X the same evening, so that the only practical advantage that he receives is that the ultimate recipients make their returns, if any, to him. He makes no recompense to Y's relatives for these.

[537] A fluent orator next speaks on behalf of Y's father to the following effect:

"Please, ye people, listen to my words. This is an important occasion, hearken to what I have to say. Long ago our first ancestors were married, as X and Y have been, and it is fitting that we should make the name ..... live again in Y. Three years [or as long as the name has been dormant] it has been dead, as if living with the ghosts beneath the earth. Now it shall stand up again in Y; henceforth we use it for her. Come forth ..... [using Y's new name], your father rebuys you from X for fifty blankets [for example]."

Y may be anywhere; the statement "come forth" is merely symbolical. The fifty blankets are piled outside the house and the spectators, of whom many have gathered to witness the transaction, know that that number of blankets has been given with reference to that name. In some cases the wife is rebought three, four, or even more times for one name, either repeatedly by her father, or successively by her father and other relatives, or several names may be acquired by the different repurchasings. For instance, at one potlatch not many years ago a woman obtained the names *Łäliäks*, *Xwelbon*, *Smaien·a*, and *Aiksamka*. As with men, some women prefer to have one very strong name, rather than diffuse their importance over a number. In this particular case the four designations were received from different relatives. At each repurchase the call is raised:

"Come forth ..... your brother [uncle, or whatever relative it may be] rebuys you from X for ....."

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In one case where an orphan woman, without relatives, repurchased herself by her own arduous labours, the announcement was made: 553 556 583

"Y's belt has come to rebuy her."

The reference was to the manner in which she had looped up her clothing with a belt when working. If Y's father should die after amassing goods to repurchase her, they are used for the purpose intended and the announcement is:

"Y's father's anus has come to rebuy her."

The ancestral family descended from the first settlers at *Snulle·tl* have the prerogative of singing a special song as they rebuy one of their daughters. This was used by their first ancestors on a like occasion. The theme is: [424] [533]

"I, I, I am the highest of you all. No one of you is capable of doing what I can accomplish. You all live on what I void."

The significance of this last sentence is that the village of *Snulle·tl* is farthest up the Bella Coola River. Its inhabitants used to claim that the people of the other villages lived on the refuse which they threw into the river, a source of pride to them. [186]

After announcing the various relatives who have rebought Y, the presents are counted and carried into X's house. The statement concerning their number, who has given them, and for what purpose, is repeated to the foreign guests there assembled, and they are then piled indiscriminately in a large heap for future distribution. At this juncture X calls out:

"Come in, come in," as though he were welcoming arrivals from a distance.

Y's relatives enter, and the ritual of the potlatch continues in the manner already described. The origin myth in which Y's new name is embodied is related in considerable detail, especially its recent history, that is, by whom it was last used and any pertinent items connected with its transmission. If she has received several names from different myths, each is similarly expounded.

As has been said, many women's names have been created 551 553

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her husband's critics by taking this name for herself when she rebought herself from him. 551 578

Nu'aos, "The Inhospitable One." Her husband received this reputation owing to his wife's manners, so she advertised what had been said about him.

Nupłätłsikän, "Heedlessly Deaf." This woman's mother-in-law claimed that she deliberately failed to hear what she was told to do, and applied the above epithet to her. The daughter-in-law confounded her by taking it as her own name. [606]

When a name of this type is assumed it is always announced when, where, and for what purpose it was first created. 553

A description has already been given of the actual ritual by which X bestows the goods acquired from the repurchase of Y, but it is necessary to enlarge on the prohibition against their use for the direct benefit of one of the children of the couple. The theory is that the goods bind the marriage contract and express in a practical and lofty form the kindly sentiments with which Y's relatives regard her husband, and the bond between the two families, hence they must be used solely for the benefit of him and his relatives. A man usually applies these goods to initiate the children of his brothers or sisters into the ranks of the *sisaok* or *kusiut*. It is unthinkable for goods to be delivered without an exposition of Y's family's glories, but if this should ever take place, there would be no difficulty in applying them to the direct benefit of her children. When used, for example, to make a child of X's brother a *sisaok*, he is a living testimony of the noble way in which Y's relatives have done that which is fitting for the family of her husband. Due to accidents in announcing and storing of presents, it sometimes happens that those obtained by the repurchasing of Y are used for the benefit of her own children. Unless this error is corrected, the child could always be shamed by having it said: 556 583 [558]

"You are a mere nobody. The goods expended in the

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556 repurchase of your mother have become nothing beneath your
583 feet."

When such an accident occurs, the relatives of X take some
[558] future occasion to give presents to validate his child, with the announcement:

"The goods used from the repurchase of his mother have become nothing beneath his feet. We hereby supply that deficiency."

Thus it is demonstrated that the relatives of both parents are interested in his welfare, so that his path is clear before him.

553 Many women are only repurchased once, but an effort is
556 made to do this frequently since the more times, the greater
583 her prestige. After several repurchasings it is felt that the names and other prerogatives "dragged across" by Y have become valueless. But since new names have been taken to her husband on each occasion, the marks of friendship between the two families are still plain. Then it is that those first transmitted can be revived by relatives of Y, unless, of course, X has validated them for his children. If there is only one repurchasing, the names remain the definite property of X. This is not a clearly formulated law, merely a sentiment that the earlier names have been covered by those later given, and that accordingly Y's relatives, having done what was proper, can now use the titles once more. There is a constant interchange of names and privileges between families related by marriage.

556 It is virtually impossible to over-estimate the importance
583 of this rite of repurchase among the Bella Coola, one of the
[182] few customs preserved tenaciously amid the ruins of their ancient culture. The writer was forcibly struck with the following instance which occurred while he was in Bella Coola:

About fifteen years before, a young man and woman had married with due formality. After three children had been
[586] born, the mother took to drink and vice until her husband at last repudiated her, retaining possession of the children. The woman, weakened by disease, divorced by her husband, and

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looked upon with contempt by her family, was yet determined that nothing she had done should ruin her children's chances in life. Accordingly she donated $300 to her ex-husband to rebuy herself. Marriage is accepted as a matter of course, but to be many times repurchased is the goal of every ambitious woman. In *Täl·io* the custom prevails of depicting on the rocks the number of coppers paid for repurchasing a wife. Thus her fame is displayed to all.

It is somewhat difficult for a white man to realize what a privilege the family of a wife considers it to repurchase her from her husband. If the latter is unwilling to give a potlatch, his relatives-in-law may urge him to do so, and if he still declines to exert himself they take the drastic step of inviting their fellow-villagers to assemble in his house where, with these guests as witnesses, the wife's relatives give presents to her husband and his relations. They may make this presentation at any gathering where they are assured of a large audience. In so doing the donors have demonstrated their proper sentiments, in spite of the inertness of the husband.

The assistance which the relatives of a wife have given her husband is a matter about which they can boast for the rest of their lives, a fact impressed upon the writer by listening to a quarrel between two Bella Coola men. One of them owned a horse and waggon which the other had hired to move some goods. The latter became very angry, claiming that the former had overcharged him and must be poor and greedy to be so eager to acquire money. The teamster, thus deeply insulted, silenced the other man by reminding him that the only reason he was wealthy was by means of the goods used to repurchase his, the teamster's, sister from her husband, brother of the man with whom he was disputing. To the observer the dispute was made more interesting by the fact that both the husband and wife had been dead for at least fifteen years, but their families had not ceased to remember the financial obligations connected with the marriage.

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556 A man who is giving a ceremony of any kind can offer few greater insults to his wife's relatives than omission to ask their assistance. The 583 following is a good instance of such an insult:

578 About 1900 a man and woman were married and had three children. Then the mother died, before being repurchased from her husband. In 602 addition, the husband had assisted his wife's father when one of his younger children had died; so that it was most fitting that the wife's relatives should contribute to any ceremony given by the husband. Four years later the husband proposed to marry once more, and to have the wedding occur at a potlatch. But on the day of *xläxtwm*, he insulted the relatives of his dead wife by failing to invite them. The cause of the feud was not disclosed, but the husband increased it by again failing to invite her family when, during the potlatch, they should have rebought her for the benefit of his young relatives about to be initiated into the ranks of the *suaok*. The father of the dead woman came forward uninvited with a large present for each, saying in effect:

"I, too, have a right to contribute to add prestige to my daughter and her children."

In this way he defeated the wiles of his son-in-law who had hoped to shame his father-in-law by the failure of the latter to contribute to his potlatch. The son-in-law endeavoured to excuse himself by saying that his late wife's relatives had not assisted for so long that he thought they would not wish to do so. This retort further incensed the father of the dead woman so that next day he and his wife publicly gave the donor of the potlatch $300 "to make clean where we sit."

This somewhat lengthy description has been necessary to explain the important part which the repurchase of wives plays in the lives of the Bella Coola; it is one of the fundamentals of society and is, therefore, worthy of attention.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE

768 Either death or divorce can terminate marriage. The de-[586] cease of a wife is an unfortunate affair, quite apart from the grief which it may cause her husband. Two families have been brought into peculiarly close relations through her, and now the bond itself has snapped; delicate financial arrangements have been undertaken, and it is not easy to settle these without ill-feeling, particularly if the alliance was a return marriage. If no child has been born, and no repurchasing of the wife

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764 159 worthy of record that his wishes were scrupulously obeyed. During the morning he was visited by the singers and other chiefs to discuss details of the coming ceremonial.

764 159 584 Meanwhile Samuel King had been summoned from his logging-camp. He wished to show his own grief, and also his sorrow that the union between his family and the Schooners, forged by his marriage to Jessie, should be terminated. No children had been born to cement the bond. He consulted his brother and sister, who agreed with him that a marriage between his daughter, by a former wife, and George Nelson would be desirable. The girl was consulted and raised no objections. [769] Samuel then addressed Captain Schooner who was favourably disposed, so it was decided that this ceremony should take *[556] place in connection with the memorial potlatch. It would be a real, not a fictitious marriage, as the girl had reached adolescence several years previously.

764 159 Another visitor to Captain Schooner that morning was Joe Williams. Several years earlier, when he had given a ceremony in honour of two of his children who had died, Captain Schooner had contributed $100 as "A Blanket for George Nelson's Wife." This was really part of the marriage [583] transaction, although deferred for a number of years after the actual time of the wedding. This sum had been divided as follows: $20 to Joe Williams; $20 to Mrs. Joe Williams; $10 to Mrs. George Nelson; $10 to her brother; $20 to Lame Charlie; and $20 to Mrs. Lame Charlie. Joe consulted the recipients and found that all were willing to repay their indebtedness at this time. Captain Schooner did not ask for it, but Joe was glad of the opportunity to do the proper thing at the right time and thus rise in popular estimation. He and his relatives decided to return $150, a sum which he mentioned to Captain Schooner that morning.

[583] Joe Williams, his wife, and Mrs. George Nelson also decided to take advantage of the gathering to rebuy the last named from her husband. The fact that they had been separated for at least a year and that the woman had been living an immoral

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life did not alter the necessity of rebuying her "to make good the path" of her children. For this purpose they decided to give a copper and a sum of money; it was impossible to learn the exact amount. Joe told Captain Schooner of their intention. [583]

About noon the body was brought in a canoe from the cannery in its closed coffin and lifted ashore at a convenient spot near the cemetery. Those manning the canoe were young men who happened to be at the cannery, irrespective of whether or not they were related to Jessie. The coffin was laid on a grassy place and Captain Schooner seated himself beside it. People were passing and repassing, some sat down for a time, then moved off to dinner. Occasionally, a woman would sit and wail, the most constant being Reuben's married daughter; Captain Schooner moved around talking to his friends amidst the eerie wailing. About 1.30 P.M. everyone in the village had assembled, including a number of Carrier Indians, anxious to see the sight. Captain Schooner withdrew to his house after asking Bobby Nebby to summon the chiefs to meet him there. The messenger, who thus acted as herald, went around the gathering whispering to each; in addition to those notified at the cannery the preceding evening he called all the older and most influential Bella Coola, Albert King, Samuel King, Joe Williams, Joshua Moody, Alec Davis, Lame Charlie, Judas, and Nebuchadnezzar. Captain Schooner requested the last named, an important chief, to take charge of the ceremony. At this time Samuel King told Nebuchadnezzar, who informed the others, what had been arranged for his daughter and they agreed that it was good. It was tacitly assumed that George Nelson would be delighted; probably he had been on friendly terms with the girl for some time. Joe Williams also told Nebuchadnezzar the two business propositions that he intended to carry out, the return of the money to Captain Schooner, and the rebuying of his daughter. Nebuchadnezzar informed the people concerned. At this meeting it was decided that various chiefs should speak after the Christian service at the grave.

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for the Carriers and other foreigners. The cook began to ladle the rice into basins provided by Captain Schooner; these were taken by some of the younger men who poured helpings into the dishes of the guests. Spoons had been forgotten, and there was delay until these were provided by slivers split from a block of wood for the purpose. Contrary to ancient usage, no attempt was made to serve food to the guests in order of their rank. Men, women, and children were sitting everywhere, the infants kept moving around and crying continually throughout the performance, but no one seemed to be disturbed thereby.

When everyone had eaten, Nebuchadnezzar, who had been sitting facing the other singers, beat on the floor to attract attention and then rose to speak. He asked the help of all to make the ceremony a success, and thus assuage the grief of the bereaved relatives.

Joe Williams and his daughter had taken their places on the right-hand side of the hall and had requested Willie Mack, a fluent speaker and influential chief, to assist them in announcing the financial transactions. They spread a blanket on the floor on which the bills were counted, and beside this Willie knelt. Joe gave him a sum of money, which was counted and re-counted; Willie then held it up in the vain hope that it could be seen by everyone in the hall. He announced the amount, also that it was to rebuy (the divorced) Mrs. George Nelson from her late husband, and that it would "make clean the place where she sat." A young man delivered the money to George who added it to the general stock for later distribution. Next a copper was produced, held up, and presented to him for the same purpose. Meanwhile Joe, assisted by his mother and other relatives, had been counting the money which they proposed to give to Captain Schooner in settlement of the previously contracted debt. One hundred and fifty dollars were produced and handed to Willie Mack, who held them up and announced that it was in return for the $100 given by Captain Schooner on a previous occasion to Joe Williams, his wife, his son, his daughter, his mother, and his stepfather. The bills

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were taken by one of the younger men to Captain Schooner, who accepted them without showing either gratitude or the reverse; this return was a matter that concerned the Williams family, not the Schooners. After a short delay, Billy Pollard moved over to the group and spoke to Joe and Willie Mack, to whom he gave $10. The latter stated that this sum, which he held up, and a horse, which was not produced, were being given to George Nelson to rebuy his (divorced) wife. Billy is not related to the woman, but had long been friendly and wished to share in making good the path for her children. This matter had not been previously broached. The choice of Willie Mack as announcer was made merely because he was a fluent speaker and, as a chief, had the necessary self-confidence to act fittingly.

After these preliminaries, the main rite was begun. Jim Pollard, an eloquent chief unrelated to any of the principals, spoke at some length describing the journey taken by Jessie to visit the scenes of her ancestral myths. He was followed by a Bella Bella chief who happened to be in Bella Coola at the time. In the Chinook jargon he first expressed his sympathy and respect for Captain Schooner because he was carrying out the fitting rites, then asked leave to speak in Bella Bella because he found it difficult to express himself in Chinook. He described the journey which the deceased had taken owing to her membership in the ancestral family of her mother, a Bella Bella woman. No one paid much attention to the speeches; in fact, it was impossible at the back of the hall to hear what was said owing to the chattering and crying of children.

After considerable delay, the singers decided it was time to sing the first mourning song. It had never before been used, although the composer, Billy Pollard, had prepared it several years earlier and had merely altered the words during the morning after consulting Captain Schooner about his ancestral myths. The singers had learnt text and tune during the rehearsal a few hours before. It was impossible to record it in detail; in outline, it consisted of the words:

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and deciding how to divide it. Harry Schooner is neither dominant nor capable, and Andy acted only as clerk, so the actual decision rested with Captain Schooner, Reuben, and George. Daniel Nelson would normally have played a prominent part, but he was absent owing to the illness of his infant daughter. Samuel King joined the group, bringing with him two coppers, two rifles, and a sum of money, and whispered the purpose of this contribution.

After the usual pause, George Nelson and Captain Schooner, the latter substituting for the absent Dan Nelson, stood up and walked around the hall carrying three coppers and two rifles. Then they returned to their places.

Nebuchadnezzar had been asked by Captain Schooner to act as announcer on account of his good voice and self-confidence. He joined the group in the corner to call out whatever they whispered to him. First he stated that one of the coppers just displayed had been given to George Nelson to rebuy from him his wife, Joe Williams' daughter. He explained that the other two, as well as the rifles, were presents from Samuel King, assisted by his brother, Albert, and his sister, Mrs. Alexander Clallaman, to George Nelson in consequence of the latter's marriage to Samuel King's daughter. This arrangement having been initiated by the relatives of the girl, it was fitting that they should give the first presents.

Captain Schooner had first planned to expend $200 to validate the return of his dead daughter. His wife gave him $20 for the purpose, and when Joe Williams returned $150, he decided to use only $100 of his savings, making $270 in all. To this Reuben added $60, Harry $40, and Dan Nelson $40, increasing the total to $410. George contributed what he had received from Joe Williams for the repurchase of the latter's daughter, as well as what Samuel King had just given him. Samuel added to the pile some money belonging to Jessie,[48]

[48] The writer could not learn why this money had not been destroyed with her other possessions. The reason may have been that the Bella Coola knew that, though a potlatch was illegal, the goods of a dead person could be distributed and by doing this at a ceremony they hoped for no interference from the law.

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Ăsa: stony village.

Atlwaṣḥ, "He of the Tied-up Penis": Name given to a lad whose sex was disguised in infancy.

[426] *ălkămandut:* Refusal to lend to an outsider a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage dancers.

[574] *ălkupalomam:* Meal served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to an announcement of his coming potlatch.

Ălkuziyuṣum: Name of a female shaman.

Ălkwi, "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Stuie* in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a *Snaüle't* chief.

Ălkhaltalaix: *Kwiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Ălkhamathayaix: One of the first men to settle at *Skătăd* in the beginning of time.

[575] *ălkwaxmam:* *Sisaok* having the ability to enter the hamatsa and treat initiates concealed there. The function probably antedates the employment of *hai-shăkăla.*

Ălkăpaix: Holders, supernatural beings who restrain supernatural Cannibals.

[583] *ălkăstam:* Frenzied beating of sticks.

Ălmamamtu: Wife of *Tsuälaïx*, the supernatural hunter.

Ălmashkitum: Supernatural calendrical experts.

Ălmaqăkhăla: Husband of *Ănăkhmalaix*; he is known only in Kimsquit.

[575] *ălmatsătsk:* *Kwiut* dance of mystery.

[574] *ălmaxwatsmam:* Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony.

ălmaxwatsmamap: Call used by heralds when announcing to a mourning ceremony.

[425] [583] *ălmamlaix:* The "Dragging Across" of a name, crest, or other intangible prerogative from wife to husband either at marriage or later at a repurchasing of the wife.

[262] *ălmtu:* To drag a heavy burden.

ălmulaw-ăs: Cranberries mixed with olachen grease.

[821] *ălmuxsim:* Visit to his repository by a *hăxăit* initiate.

Ălnaxdimut, "Facing Both Ways": Second moon after the winter solstice.

ălolipasmaq, "The Actionless Time": Husband assemblage of the *hahaïwe* after departure of a Cannibal.

[597] *ălpaxlakam:* Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.

Ălpalpalaix: 1—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.

ălpa: Food.

[425] *ălpamas*, "Food Supplies": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.

Ălpătlad, "Smokehole": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[756] *ălpătsi:* Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.

[882] *ălpaxik:* Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.

[825] *Ălpaxiyaw-ăs:* Supernatural names of olachen, applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.

Ălpaxʷ'ălut, "A Gleam Downwards": Name given to an *Ălpătlad* man in the beginning of time.

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Amtsamagh, "Come and eat": Invitation to the *kokoaist* to assemble in a performer's house.

Amtlo: House beams.

Amt'stu: Messenger bearing invitation to a potlatch.

[952] *Ankhlaz*: Message.

[585] [931] *Ankhlawah*: 1—Presents, regarded as clothing, etc., given by the groom's relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter visit his home on the wedding day.
2—Other presents given by the husband's relatives to the wife's kinsmen prior to her repurchase.

[589] *Ankhnaqhut*, "The Throwing Off of a Heavy Burden from the Shoulders": Said of the repayment by a wife's relatives of presents received from her husband's kinsmen.

Anmaklaiut: 1—Running race.
2—The destruction of the house of a chief who is about to give a potlatch.

Anmlaklaiut: One of the names of the supreme god.

[201] [533] *Anmlaqumtsut*: Nomination, by pressure on the foot, of a chief to go to the meeting-place.

Anmlaxamut: The employment of *kwakiut* witch-hunting.

Anpkwaxtsa: Hot Springs on South Bentinck Arm.

Anqaxtqalaxmux, "The Hunting": Synonym for *alaxmux*, q.v.; this is a Kimsquit term only.

Anqimut: *Kwakiut* rite in which the performer appears to be burnt to death.

Anqoaltsmux: The casting of *kwakiut* masks on the fire.

Anqoatsh, "Far from the River": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

[947] *Anqoit*: Absolution.

Anqoitla, "Disappointed": said of the supernatural beings called by a *nu'a* dancer who arrive too late for the potlatch.

[101] [601] *Atlas*: Slave from the lower Fraser owned in Kimsquit during the last century.
Atlasksaxmux: Bella Coola term for the Bella Bella.
Atlaskstaxmux: Half-brother or half-sister.
Atsik: 1—Man.
2—Slave, term used by old person to direct address to adult.
3—Husband.

[614] *Atsikstaz*: Male relative of same ascendant family.

Atsiktsut: Woman who performs man's work.

[601] *Atsiktsutsaz*: Single brother in a family with several sisters.

[931] *Atsmitlk*, plural, *atsmitlkaist*: Small boy, especially one; term used in indirect address.

[584] *Atsnit*", "Working Clothes": Presents given by the relatives of the future bride to the kinsmen of the future bridegroom at the first commencement of the engagement. The implication is that they will have to labour industriously to obtain the wealth necessary for the marriage.

[821] *Atsnitsaxut*: Cold wind of the mornings, semi-synonymous.

Atsnitsy: Bella Bella term for the eulachon.

[563] *Atsnitsy*: Bella Coola term for the people of mixed Bella Bella-Kimsquit result who inhabited the shores of Dean Channel.

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xwaiał, "The Time for *Kwiat* Rites": Fifth moon after the summer solstice.
xyayaya: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Xłqałał* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle on the lower Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
4—Assed name of a Kimsquit man.
yałałxił: One of the supernatural carpenters.
yámwwemtem: The repurchase of a wife from her husband.
yanił: Synonym for *cpanałyat*, a present for which a return is not expected.
yatemxałyat: Hereditary tendency.
ypem: *Kwiat* name of a *Sisaos* man.
yetsy: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *łatwult* is problematical.
yexłałem: One of the first men to settle at *Kemgaxs* in the beginning of time.
yexłmaaxw nixmut ał at: The entrusting of a woman to a husband's care. This phrase is used by a wife's relatives when about to relieve her as expressing their somewhat beautiful sentiments concerning the relations entered into at marriage.
yex xłałmaxwłałxix: Terrific supernatural visitation.
yixłałaxw: 1—To strengthen, or to shore up.
2—Goods provided by a wife to strengthen her husband's position.
yixłbalaq, "Different from All Others": Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
yixmaaxw-i: Wife of North Wind, a supernatural being resident in a side valley of the upper Bella Coola.
yixłwaxwłałxix: Supernatural aid granted to the underworm.
yłpałtsemaxwłałxix: Son of Raven and one of the first settlers at *Tsi'is* in the beginning of time.
yoxwkwaxłałxix, "The Track of the Sun": *Ałalt* name obtained in the beginning of time.
yoxwkwłałxix: Supernatural name of *ałalt*.
yquaxtlan, "Commander"-1—Said to be the word from which *Alquantun* is derived.
2—One of the names of the supreme god.
yułkłmaxwtis, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Semaus* in the beginning of time.
yumaqłałxix: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.
yumał-ar: *Kwiat* name of a *Sisaos* man.
yumłxwałła: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
yu mumxiw: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Kemgaxs* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.
yuqałmaxwtis, "The Circuit": Name assumed by *Semaus* in the beginning of time.
yuqałnem, "The Walker": Supernatural being resident in a glacier near the overland trail between *Bentinck* and *Tsi'is*.

K

[821]
[824]

kaa: 1—Snow.
2—Unidentified berry.
Kaboodlas: Name obtained from a supernatural being by a Bella Bella man.
Kakamath: One of Raven's Crow sisters.

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kakaa: Crow.
Kakaloa: Locality in the Bella Coola valley mentioned in an ancient story.

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[125] *Lakhkhi:* Kimsquit man mentioned in ancient story.
la'ax: Squirrel.
Laqumsala: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Kimpo'o* in the beginning of time.
2—Man sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
[463] *Lasaiyae'i:* Name of a professional warrior; the word is said to have originated in Kitkatla but has remained for many generations in Kimsquit.
La'qala: Atnarko River, northern fork of the Bella Coola.
Lalamak: Secret name of a Kimsquit man.
Lalaimbila, "The Brusher Off [of Goats]": Professional name of one of the first settlers at *Saalalil* in the beginning of time. This may be the same word as *Lalambila.*
Lalambila: Another name for *Tsalalila,* the supernatural hunter. This may be the same word as *Lalaimbila.*
[825] *Lilkwamlaia:* 1—"The Beautifier": Supernatural name of Otter.
2—*Kwicio* name of a Kimsquit woman.
[886] *Lilqualilis:* Return in old age to the thoughts and actions of infancy, senile decay.
[426] *Lilqut:* To repay indebtedness of any kind, especially presents received at potlatches.
[583] *Lilwaadjat,* "A Paying": An arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative by way of repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters.
Lolomas: Wrestling or shoving.
Lolom: Abbreviated Cannibal rite.
Lo'qua: 1—Famous Bella Bella chief.
2—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Lolus: Mask.
Lots: Tool for making vertical incisions in the bark of cedar trees.

L

Lalwaklila: *Tsimsian* man living in the beginning of time.
Lalalaks: *Kwicio* name of a Kimsquit man.
[829] *Lalla:* 1—Copper.
2—Unidentified town on the outer coast, mentioned in a story of the beginning of time.
3—Chief of this town.
Lallaxsiaks: Daughter of chief of the town of Copper.
Lallaxlaal: Copper canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Ilmoo* in the beginning of time.
Lallelka: Man's name, created by the first settlers at *Sadlia,* in the beginning of time.
Lallelqa: Name taken for himself by one of the four settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Lallelx: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Lallemp: Secret name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Skpakod* in the beginning of time.
Lallemx, "The Copper One": One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.

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numas, vocative, numaotas: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker. [601]

Numaklum: Supernatural being who comes with *Nuakymm* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Numalahmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

numit: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

numumukkas: Toilet-hole.

numulxiam: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

numulnumnas: Exchange marriage. [583]

numpalulmm: Passenger.

Nu-mts: Place near *Nulkas.*

Nuntemlaia: *Kuziut* name created by *ayayayut* at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

nunnasi di nanas: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

nunnasi ti stanas: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nunsass'as, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nuqutsmund: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunadjigma: Supernatural being who created repositories in the beginning of time.

Nunalaank: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunalgtam: House occupied by the first settlers at *Nutsmult* in the beginning of time.

nunu-l'atmut: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.

nunulwustmm or *nunulwustatmut:* 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Tlitsplitsa-a.* [782]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [775]

Nunumu-uk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunuxalalidimut: Male supernatural being who travels with *Nuakymm,* takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

Nunuxsha: Mother Nature.

nunxpy: Fisherman with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching oolachen. [424]

nunxpumumly, "A Calling Back", or "A Seining": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [226] [761]

Nunxlymala, "Where Water Entered": House of one of the first groups of settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Nunxpualalais: *Kuziut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunxpualalaiqua-a: Professional name of a female dancer.

Nunxpualatmm: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

Nunxlalmut: *Kuziut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunxtmamk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunxtumalak: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Nunxthumum, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

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[198] *Nuxnānuyit:* Area around a spring near *Nulleax.*
nuxnutsta: Chamber-vessel in the language of supernatural beings.
Nuxnutsta: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Nuxpkuusta, "Place of Meeting": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nuxpusta Smaisaikila, "The Peace-Giving *Smaisaikila*": Designation of the supreme god with reference to the function of peace.
Nuxqtqs: Skeena River.
Nuxqtqts, "Place of Many Spring Salmon": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.
nuxqulst-a: 1—Chamber-vessel.
2—Nickname of a Kimsquit child.
Nuxtqalst, "Place of *Sqalst*": 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Mountain, the loftiest in the Bella Coola valley, near the village.
Nuxyuil: [illegible] village.
nuxtqlqut: *Kusiutem* rite in which the performer pretends to have his stomach cut.
[824] *nuxqulhutsta:* Person fastened to the ground with roots.
[431] *nuxqu:* Person suffering from umbilical hernia.
nuxʼsqalyuusta: Appurtenances for washing given by the donor of a potlatch to his guests.
Nuxqulwaista: House of the supreme god during the winter dances of the supernatural beings.
[825] *nuxqwal:* 1—One of the *sʼalk* dances.
2—Yearling mountain goat.
3—Man dwelling in *Lemoqwa's* house.
nuxqwalsi: The alleged attraction of the spirit of an uninitiated person to a performer in the house where a *kusiut* dance is taking place.
Nuxqwlwaista: Variant of *Nuxqulwaista.*
Nuxqwlwaskwikt Nɛtkyum: Supernatural dancer who comes in *Nɛtkyum's* canoe.
[198] *Nuxqwlaia,* "Kingfisher," in the language of supernatural beings: Ancestral name of a herald who came down to the Kimsquit River in the beginning of time.
Nuxqwstwaista, "The Making Place" (with reference to *qwstwusta*): One of the names of the supreme god's house.
Nuxqwuslax-i: 1—Man mentioned in an ancient story of Green Bay.
2—Man mentioned in an ancient story of *Stuix.*
Nuxʼwlas: Supernatural merry-maker or clown.
[825] *nuxyuskut:* The annual scattering of birds by the supreme god in the land above.
Nuxyut: Locality near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.
[583] *nuxqwtuuusta,* "Washing Appurtenances": Term applied to presents given to a husband by his wife's relatives when rebuying her.
[431] *Nuxkista:* Locality near *Stuix.*
[552] *nuxkuumsta,* "Ground Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate *nuxsk* initiates with regard to the ground over which they will dance, or chiefs to the ground over which they will tread.
[431] *nuxkuumsta,* "Seat Covering": Expression used for the presents given to validate the seat of a chief or of a *nuxsk* dancer.
Nuxlaiqs: Herald of *Smoaix* in the beginning of time.
Nuxlaxuuusta, "Place Where People Were Made": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
nuxlaxqs: Carpenter.
nuxlqyuuusta: Smear of red paint.

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*[773]
[777]
[825]

ɬwatlnusta: 1—Tally post, one of the supernatural elements possessed by all human beings.
2—Invisible supernatural element which constantly moves before the face.

ɬwatlnsta; vocative, ɬwatlnstas, (rarely, *ɬwatlnsta*): Crest.

ɬwax: Raven.

ɬwax: Big old male mountain goat.

Ɬwaxila: Ɬomɢo·ts man living in the last century.

Ɬwaxliallis: Celebrated Kwakiutl chief.

Ɬwaxɢwax·wamim: Name of a shaman who received his power from Raven.

[601]

Ɬwaxwats: One of the first men to settle at *Stuix* in the beginning of time.

ɬwaxwam: Fourth oldest, or youngest, brother or sister.

ɬwa'yalaks: Steller's jay.

Ɬwakɬl: Kimsquit woman.

[825]

ɬwana: Woman's pubic hair.

ɬwata: Sea-lion cub.

[431]

ɬwem: Those who are present and receive gifts when an announcement of a marriage is first made.

Ɬwɛta: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

ɬwia·x'sem: A revelation, such as the sight of a supernatural being or object usually concealed.

[825]

ɬwilais: Yearling seal.

ɬwimap: Word used in inviting to a marriage announcement.

Ɬwinae: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Ɬwiɢwaxaowa: Kwakiutl supernatural being, said to be identical with *Älɢuntam.*

Ɬwixläkilak"': Nusɢwal name of a Kimsquit man.

Ɬwiyai: Bella Bella village west of Namu.

Ɬwɛ: Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.

Ɬwlaiyu: Professional female marriage droner who came down to Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Ɬwlaxwoa: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Ɬwliut, "Place of Herbage": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.

ɬwnta: Inspiration, in the sense of the source of a *kusiut* dancer's power of thought.

[583]

Ɬwɛsalk: Village west of Kwatna, settled in the beginning of time.

ɬwɛxlaxdjut: Actual goods used for the repurchase of a wife.

[854]

Ɬwɛyusditsas: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit chief.

ɬwtutl: Cradle.

Ɬwɛ'nätk': Kusiut name of a Bella Coola woman.

Ɬwɛ·ɛ: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

[581]

ɬ"xlin: The noble and rightful sentiments engendered in both families by an elaborate marriage, either real or fictitious. The word embodies the concepts of financial interdependence and of consequent mutual strength.

[195]

ɬxwakim: The transference of activities to a new sphere; the term is used, rhetorically, when refering to the death of a skilled craftsman.

S

saiks: 1—Skeleton.
2—Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Saikwaio·sam: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

sai·mis ɬiälas: The constant blinking of the eyes.

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sa·qwa·l: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sdjidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekakmōn·a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sekilāx:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
[822] *sekima sidlamkek:* River net for salmon.
Setsalāni: Echo.
Sextexgālaix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sextexqwalxlaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Tlitcāplilān·a's* names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Sialxelāx:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Qomq·ts* man.
[825] *Siaqam,* "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
sidāxsu: One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
[805] *Sidakaos di Ano°likwolsaix,* "The Coming of *Ano°likwolsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
sintala: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Si'ishilil,* "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'iswai·stl, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'illiukek:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] *si'iqiam,* "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Siuut,* "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Siuāmi,* "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sikalamtak, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *siki,* "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *sisaok* rites.
Sikilikmm: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Sikuly,* "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalxwlekx: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwuldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Siknm: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
[226] *Silias:* Celebrated composer.
[827] *siltmaq:* Salmon-weir.
sinaxgme'ax: Sisaok head-dress.
[761] *sininiis:* Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
[805] *si·nipodjoxsumax:* Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
Simpicus: Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[726] *Sinomwak,* "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
Sinulkumitl, "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinunkālāxm: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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sîye: Supernatural good luck.
[821] *sk̓wsɔ́s:* Fog.
825 *sk̓u':* Pack-rat.
[828] *sɬk:* Mind or mentality.
sɬkʷan: Place of lucky finds, such as a point where whales drift ashore.
sɬxoɬxaɬtwa: Cannibal recently returned from the land above.
Sɬɬsɬɛ̄n-i: One of the first women to settle at *Sɛ̄ɬlis* in the beginning of time.
smɛ́: Mountain.
[825] *smɛ́lk* or *smɛ́lkɛs:* Salmon, generic form.
smɬamnikɛ́s: (Probably) viscera of an animal, *archaic.*
Smsiuɛ́sɛ́s: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[173] *smsma:* Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.
Smtus: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[822] *Snɛ̄'luxam:* Bella Coola chief.
Snɬominit: Darkness, anthropomorphized.
[828] *snɬus:* Anger.
snux: Sun.
Snxɛ̄kila: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Alpɛ̄lɛ̄l* in the beginning of time.
Snxɛ̄lɛ̄tɬa: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—*A'alk* name of a Kimsquit man.
4—*Sɛ̄sɛ̄k* name of a Kimsquit man.
Snxan-a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[827] *snxkɬ:* Mucus.
Snuɛ́, "Sunny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
nɛwɛlɛ́tk: Game played with miniature spears.
[575] *nsɛ́ɛk:* 1—Society intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.
nsiutl: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.
Snuxakila: Shaman's name of a *Snuɛ́* woman.
nskiɬ': Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *Tlitɛ̄plilɛ̄n-a* to the one favoured.
[601] *nskɛm:* Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[583] *nsmmɬa:* The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.
[431] *nsqɛ-si:* Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
585 *nsɛ́nk':* Western dock (plant).
[824] *nsɛ́xwɛtwɛlɛ́p:* Snowberry.
nxnɛ́ɛlinu: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.
[825] *nɛ́mmɛ́ɛ,* "Food Supply": Synonym for *sɛ́'ɛkam,* ancestral hunting-ground.
skɬɬ": Porcupine.
[824] *skɬ'ɛ́ɛ:* Black huckleberry.
[821] *skɬɛ́ɛlɛ́ɛlɛ́s:* Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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Tcold: River on mainland opposite north end of Vancouver Island.
Tcopintil: Mountain near Dean Channel.
Tcwa·st: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
talaos: To marry.
talaostem: 1—Marriage in which the woman's relatives make the first proposal, especially one hurried owing to bereavement or other financial stringency in the man's family. [584]
2—Marriage without lengthy engagement.
titilit: One having a voice like an eagle's.
hqwaistmam, "A Holding": The arrangement by which a man's sons-in-law give him as "wife" an infant female relative in repayment for his expenses in connection with the weddings of his own daughters. [583]
hxcus: Clover. [824]
hxlala: Robin. [825]
hxnnsma: Game played with bows and arrows. [411]
hxsmmta: Arrow. [412]
ixta: Adze.
hxwoma: Stone maul without handle for driving fish-net stakes. [825]
ila: Black bear.
ilaiyakum: 1—One of the *a'alk* dances. [586]
2—Ceremonial held to shame a deserting husband or wife.
3—Name taken by an early *ilaiyakum* dancer at Kimsquit. [825]
ilakan: Snail.
Ilakmaiil: Bella Bella woman married by *Smoaan* of Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
Ilakwakila: 1—One of the first women to settle at *Xwiyai* in the beginning of time.
2—Name acquired by one of the first men to settle at *Stuxs* in the beginning of time.
3—Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Ilakwatilayelᵂᵉ: Woman dwelling on the coast south of Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
ilakwa·i: Knife of mountain goat bone. [412]
ilakwilt: Red rock cod. The difference between this and *utiaq* is problematical. [825]
Ilaliatlis: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Ilaliaki'lak': 1—Supernatural woman known to the people of Smith Inlet.
2—One of the first women to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Ilao'kwas: Servant to the supernatural being *Nuxkiapak.*
Ilaowito'kis: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Ilaqmai·ks: Supernatural woman resident in the land above. This word is said to be unrelated to *Ilaqma·ks,* although a common origin seems probable.
Ilaqma·ks: 1—Supernatural child resident in the land above.
2—Name acquired by a female child in the beginning of time. [824]
ilaqtc: Fir-bark.
ilaqtcs: Correct term, in the language of Raven, for skull-cap worn by adolescent girls. See *ahwaam.*
ila'xwala: The pouring, by a shaman, of grease from ten vessels on the fire as a means of curing the sick.
Ilawas: One of the first women to settle in the Dean valley in the beginning of time.

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Tlaxamymitl: Name acquired in the beginning of time by a Rivers Inlet man from a sea-lion.

[825] *Tlaxhudhtstl:* Sardine.

Tlikmaxstlkhs, "The Walking One": Supernatural name of the water ouzel.

Tlikmuts: Song sung during Cannibal dance while the performers run from house to house.

[825] *tlima:* Mountain goat sinew.

Tlisla: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Stuxx* in the beginning of time.
2—Wife of Mount *Nusqalst,* when in human form at the beginning of time.

Tlitcaplitx-a: One of the nine supernatural siblings, a woman who brings aid to those in sickness and is thus the initiator of shamans.

[825] *tlixin:* Sea-lion.

Tlmxtodimut, "Be Like a Person": Instruction given to a stick in the beginning of time. This designation has since been used as an ancestral name.

[821] *tlok':* 1—Moon.
2—The zenith.

[825] *tlohly:* Virulent skin disease.

tlopaw-i: Cormorant.

Tlojo-tl, "Small Mound": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Tloqut, "Maligner" or "Defamer": A supernatural being.

tlpa: 1—Gaff.
2—To cut wood for masks.

[823] *tlpamp:* "Cut!" Call used on second day of *kusiut* dances.

[415] *tlpaplaum:* Small trickle that flows from rocks near the Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel. The term is probably applied to other similar rivulets.

[824] *tlulai-:* Water-tight basket.

tmiax: Water-washed stump with scoured, radiating roots.

[482] *Twiqo:* Region on the upper Kitlobe River.

tsaiaxtl: Tump-line.

[825] *tsba:* Navel.

Tsbaxtl: Raven's canoe in the beginning of time.

tsbp: Mink.

tsmidjut, "He of the Big Family": Term used to describe a man with many descendants.

[583] *tsp-a:* Synonym for *ulxtsmxmxm,* the repurchase of a wife from her husband. This term is perhaps used in Kimsquit alone.

[825] *tspimux:* 1—Fawn.
2—*Nuxlxhtmy* name of a Kimsquit woman.

[821] *Tpikste:* Star in the Great Bear.

tqaaq: Lower of the two beaters used in the preparation of cedar-bark.

Tqwaaslas, "Facing": Village at head of South Bentinck Arm, synonymous with *Talsla.*

[291] *tsaihaa:* Hat with flat top and broad brim.

tsaiax: Stonecrop.

Tsaialtl: Kimsquit shaman mentioned in an ancient story.

Tsa-kmai: Bella Coola warrior living in the last century.

Tsalits: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Tsalt: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Tsaxhaxm: Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm.

tsetk: Green barnacles on water-covered stones.

[825] *tsiitx:* Large woodpecker, species unidentified.

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Ts'-dis: Kitlobe River.

Tsilnuhkt: Eagle that perched on top of a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time. [825]

tsime: Animal's entrails.

tsi-t: Note of the *kwakwas*, foretelling death. [763]

tsitsemi: Cormorant, in Bella Bella language.

tsklhuxum: Goods taken to her husband by a deserting wife on her return to him. [586]

Tsukwi: Restoration Bay.

Tsult, bald eagle: 1—Village in the lower Bella Coola valley. [431]
2—Bald eagle.
3—Name created for himself by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time. [825]

tux: Novice, either *tusiut* or shaman.

tuxtumem or *tuxtlaix:* First night of a *tusiut* dance.

tzhaxhdzut: 1—Heavy coppers in Qomoqut's house.
2—Name obtained from these by a *Sutis* man in the beginning of time.

tzki-hdimat: Kusiutem rite in which the performer's head appears to be pulled off. [415]

tzla: Closely woven basket of spruce roots.

tzlaqmoaix: Any act of an unclean nature which prevents a supernatural being from seeing the perpetrator. [784]

tzla: Presents distributed when a *xaaxa* initiate dances. They are provided by the donor "To Shield Our Eyes" from the *tsawinaw* and serve to recompense the carpenters and others who have assisted in the rite. [431]

tzma: Belt. [465]

tzna: Nettle. [824]

Tzoxlhdx: Woman resident in the far north in the beginning of time.

tzpadjut: The giving of presents to the servants and associates of the donor of a potlatch in return for being served with food in a rude manner. [431]

tzpaut: Small woodpecker, species unidentified. [824]

tzpaxlx: Winter wren.

tzpauk: Spawning sockeye salmon. [825]

tzxhilix: Intangible *tusiut* prerogative consisting of the right to scratch the genitalia. [424]

tzxilux: Prompter.

Tzxoxlhdx: One of the first women to settle at *Snukdl* in the beginning of time.

Tzxoxlhdx: One of the first men to settle at *Tsmoot* in the beginning of time. [824]

tzxwaxtslx: Unidentified tree of which the bark was smoked. [825]

tzxhdzaxs: To grasp firmly with both hands, *archaic.*

tzxqax-i: Trout, *plural.*

tzxts'at'alxmdx: Ceremony resembling a potlatch given by a chief for the benefit of his fellow-villagers, especially during the year preceding his main rite.

tzxyx, "What Is Good": Synonym for *tzxmxmxmtxm*, the repurchase of a wife from her husband. [583]

Tzxtsal-ux: Synonym for *Nuxtelxixulkum:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.

tzxwixum: 1—Masked figure, usually in crest form, which appears to *xaaxa* and *o'alk* initiates.
2—An appearance, that is, the coming into sight of what is usually invisible.

Tzxxlxlx: Supernatural hunter of mountain goats.

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[728] *yuhmax:* Peace ceremony.
Yekhin: Bella Coola carpenter living in the last century.
yu·imut: Ceremonial error.
[534] *Yentsänl:* House of the first settlers at *Sätlis* in the beginning of time.
yet·en: Rattle.
[425] *yet·umx:* The sending back of a name to the family of its original owners through a return marriage, or the proposal to do so, made by the relatives of the wife.
[583] *yetsalt; plural, yetsält; vocative plural, yetsalt:* A woman who has attained an honourable position through being many times repurchased from her husband; virtually, a female chief.
[554] *Yelsqwikaiya:* Kitlobe chief living in the beginning of time.
Yexsila: Kusiut name of a Kimsquit man.
yexdimut: Fire-holder carried by Thunder.
[825] *yexo'maitl:* Old, female sea-lion.
Yexthin: Ancestral name of a *Sunxl* man.
Yexwomaitl: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit woman.
Yulätimut: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
[372] *yuhmis:* Sticks for making fire.
yuhälx: Promontory.
yu'gaxl: The actual appearance of a performer at an *a'alk* dance during a potlatch.
Yuxwa·t: ustämx village.
Yuyuhmxl: Stone on the shore of Dean Channel believed to have been a man a long time ago.
Yxyulk"mai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Älqalaxl* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Snuisli* in the beginning of time.